

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 01104

EXDIS

USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, EEC, BQG, EAIR, GW, GE, UR, UK, FR, US
SUBJECT: DISCUSSION AT QUADRIpartite LUNCHEON
JANUARY 19

REF: (A) BONN 901, (B) USBER 118, (C) BONN 898,
(D) BONN 736, (E) 77 BONN 19068, (F) BONN 351
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BEGIN SUMMARY. I HOSTED THE AMBASSADORIAL LUNCHEON
JANUARY 19. VAN WELL DISCUSSED GDR OPPOSITION MANIFESTO
AS WELL AS DENIAL OF VISA TO CDU LEADER KOHL BUT WITHOUT
ADDING MATERIALLY TO OUR PREVIOUS INFORMATION. HE ALSO
CONFIRMED OFFICIAL APPROACH BY SOVIETS TO CHANCELLOR
POSTPONING BREZHNEV'S PLANNED VISIT TO FRG IN FEBRUARY
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FOR HEALTH REASONS; SOVIETS HAD EXPRESSED BREZHNEV'S
INTENTION TO VISIT AT LATER DATE, BUT NO TIME FRAME
MENTIONED. THERE WAS SOME GENERAL DISCUSSION, INITIATED
BY BRITISH AMBASSADOR, REGARDING DESIRABILITY OF PLANNING
BY WEST FOR POST-BREZHNEV SUCCESSION PERIOD, WITH IN-
DICATION BY FRG, SUPPORTED BY FRENCH AMBASSADOR, OF
RECEPTIVITY TO IDEA OF CONSULTATIONS WITH SOVIETS ON

BERLIN QUESTIONS. VAN WELL ALSO DISCUSSED ASSUMPTION OF BUNDESRAT PRESIDENCY BY STOBBE LATER THIS YEAR AND HE REVIEWED HIS DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR FALIN CONCERNING OTRAG. IN CONNECTION WITH EC-CEMA FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS, VAN WELL ADHERED TO PREVIOUS LINE IN EXPRESSING HOPE THAT AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED ON GENERAL APPLICABILITY CLAUSE COVERING BERLIN; FAILING THAT, HE THOUGHT INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES COULD NEGOTIATE SEPARATE FISHERIES AGREEMENTS. HE INDICATED STRONG OPPOSITION TO USING FRANK-FALIN CLAUSE AS SUGGESTED BY POLES AS WAY TO HANDLE BERLIN PROBLEM IN FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS. FRENCH AMBASSADOR MENTIONED FORTHCOMING EC DISCUSSIONS IN BERLIN DURING GREEN WEEK OF FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS AND HOPED THESE WOULD NOT BE SEEN AS FORMAL MEETING. VAN WELL ALSO RAISED QUESTION OF REFERENCE IN RECENT SOVIET PROTEST TO SPECIAL "UNDERSTANDINGS" BETWEEN ALLIES AND SOVIETS AT TIME OF QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. US, UK AND FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES ALL SAID THEY KNEW OF NO UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT WHICH FRG IS NOT INFORMED. VAN WELL WAS NOT DISPOSED TO PUSH QUESTION FURTHER, BUT SAID HE WISHED TO EMPHASIZE EXTREME SENSITIVITY OF SUBJECT. END SUMMARY.

1. MANIFESTO (REF A). VAN WELL DISCUSSED GDR OPPOSITION MANIFESTO AT SOME LENGTH ALONG LINES WE HAVE ALREADY HEARD FROM FRG REPRESENTATIVE IN BONN GROUP. CONFIDENTIAL

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ALTHOUGH STYLE OF DOCUMENT IS VARIED AND PAPER WAS PROBABLY PUT TOGETHER BY VARIOUS GROUPS OR INDIVIDUALS, FRG BELIEVES, ACCORDING TO VAN WELL, THAT IT HAS RING OF AUTHENTICITY AND REFLECTS ACCURATELY MANY AREAS OF DISCONTENT IN GDR. VAN WELL DISCOUNTED ANY NOTION THAT MANIFESTO IS INDICATION OF SERIOUS DIVISIONS WITHIN SED LEADERSHIP, ALTHOUGH CONTENTS OF MANIFESTO AND SENSITIVE REACTION TO IT BY GDR AUTHORITIES COULD BE TAKEN AS SIGN OF A CONTINUED CRISIS OF IDENTITY OF THE SED. VAN WELL SAID THE GDR OBVIOUSLY WISHES TO LIMIT ADVERSE EFFECT OF MANIFESTO IN CONNECTION WITH INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS, ALTHOUGH AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN COMPELLED TO REACT WITH INCREASINGLY SEVERE MEASURES AS WESTERN MEDIA, PARTICULARLY TV, HAVE PLAYED UP ATTACKS AGAINST PARTY LEADERSHIP. VAN WELL SAID FRG HAS INFORMATION THAT COMMUNIST CADRE IN GDR FEEL THAT OFFICIAL REACTIONS AND STEPS TAKEN TO DATE BY REGIME HAVE BEEN ADEQUATE AND IT WOULD APPEAR THAT AUTHORITIES HAVE SITUATION WELL UNDER CONTROL.

2. DENIAL OF KOHL VISA (REF B). VAN WELL SAID HE REGRETTED GDR ACTION IN DENYING VISA TO CDU LEADER

KOHL, A STEP WHICH COULD ONLY EXACERBATE CURRENT

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DIFFICULTIES AND PROVIDE AMMUNITION TO THE CDU TO
ATTACK THE GDR AND CRITICIZE THE GOVERNING COALITION
IN THE FRG. IN VAN WELL'S OPINION, DENIAL OF VISA
PROBABLY RELATES MORE TO SOVIET OBJECTION TO PRESENCE
OF KOHL IN WEST BERLIN TO CHAIR CDU CAUCUS THAN TO
MANIFESTO AFFAIR. HE BELIEVES THAT SOVIETS, WHO
HE THINKS HAVE ADOPTED INCREASINGLY TOUGH LINE IN
DISCUSSIONS WITH ALLIES AND FRG IN RECENT MONTHS OVER
BERLIN QUESTIONS, ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE IRRITATED
WITH MEETINGS IN WEST BERLIN OF FRG POLITICAL BODIES
AND THAT ACTION RE KOHL IS REFLECTION OF THIS. WHEN
SOVIET AMBASSADOR FALIN HAD CALLED ON HIM SEVERAL DAYS
AGO TO PROTEST CDU MEETING IN BERLIN, VAN WELL SAID HE
HAD MADE COUNTERPROTEST ABOUT DENIAL OF VISA TO KOHL TO
ENTER EAST BERLIN AND HAD SAID THIS UNDOUBTEDLY HAD
BEEN DONE AT INSTIGATION OF SOVIET UNION. FALIN CLEARLY
WAS/ STUNG BY THIS REMARK AND REJECTED IT OUT OF HAND,
STRESSING SOVEREIGNTY OF GDR; FALIN HAD CALLED BACK
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LATER TO REITERATE SOVIET REJECTION OF VAN WELL'S CHARGE.

3. BREZHNEV VISIT. VAN WELL REPORTED THAT FALIN HAD CALLED ON SCHMIDT EARLIER THIS WEEK TO TELL HIM THAT BREZHNEV REGRETTED VERY MUCH THAT HE WOULD BE UNABLE TO VISIT BONN AS PLANNED FEBRUARY 16-19 SINCE HIS DOCTORS INSISTED THAT HE SPEND LONGER TIME RECUPERATING FROM RECENT CASE OF FLU (VAN WELL NOTED THAT THIS WAS FIRST INDICATION FRG HAD RECEIVED THAT BREZHNEV HAD BEEN PLANNING TO COME FEBRUARY 16-19). FALIN HAD EXPRESSED BREZHNEV'S HOPE TO MAKE VISIT AT LATER DATE BUT NO TIME FRAME WAS MENTIONED.

4. DISCUSSION OF BREZHNEV'S VISIT AND STATE OF HEALTH LED BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO RAISE QUESTION OF SUCCESSION TO BREZHNEV AND WHAT, IF ANYTHING, WESTERN POWERS SHOULD BE DOING TO PREPARE FOR INITIATIVES IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIELD DESIGNED TO FURTHER WESTERN INTERESTS FOLLOWING CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP IN USSR. HE RECALLED SUCCESS IN NEGOTIATING AUSTRIAN STATE TREATY IN PERIOD FOLLOWING STALIN'S DEATH AND, WHILE DISCOUNTING POSSIBILITY OF MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS OF THIS KIND, WONDERED IF THERE MIGHT IF THERE MIGHT BE POSSIBILITY OF UTILIZING POST-SUCCESSION PHASE TO WORK FOR LESSENING OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA, FOR EXAMPLE, OR REDUCTION OF SOVIET PRESSURES RE BERLIN. VAN WELL PICKED UP REFERENCE TO BERLIN AND SAID HE FELT CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO POSSIBLE ADVANTAGES WHICH COULD BE DERIVED FROM CONSULTATIONS WITH SOVIETS. HE NOTED THAT, ALTHOUGH FRG ALWAYS MAKES CLEAR IT HAS M

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COMPETENCE FOR DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING BERLIN, SOVIETS NEVERTHELESS PERSIST IN RAISING BERLIN MATTERS WITH FRG. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR ALL FOUR WESTERN POWERS TO COORDINATE THEIR VIEWS IN CONNECTION WITH POSSIBLE DISCUSSIONS IN FUTURE WITH SOVIETS. WHEN I NOTED THAT IN PAST ALLIES HAVE NOT BEEN ANXIOUS TO PROMOTE IDEA OF CONSULTATIONS WITH SOVIETS CONCERNING BERLIN, FRENCH AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT THIS HAS BEEN TRADITIONAL POSITION; HOWEVER, HE FELT WEST SHOULD NOT FEAR CONSULTATIONS AND SHOULD CONSIDER WAYS TO DERIVE BENEFIT FROM THEM. DISCUSSION ENDED INCONCLUSIVELY,

ALTHOUGH VAN WELL INDICATED SUBJECT WAS ONE WHICH IT
MIGHT BE USEFUL TO TALK ABOUT FURTHER IN BONN GROUP.

5. STOBBE PRESIDENCY (CJF C). VAN WELL THOUGHT
SOVIETS IN ALL PROBABILITY WOULD MAKE PROTESTS WHEN
STOBBE ASSUMES PRESIDENCY OF BUNDESRAT LATER THIS YEAR.
HE DOUBTED, HOWEVER, THAT SOVIETS WOULD MOUNT MAJOR
CAMPAIGN ON SUBJECT; CERTAINLY, IF THEY DID SO, THEY
WOULD FIND ENTIRE FRG POPULATION, INCLUDING ALL PARTIES,
UNITED AGAINST SOVIET POSITION. VAN WELL RECALLED THAT
SOVIETS HAD CONDUCTED ROUTINE BERLIN BUSINESS WITH
FORMER GOVERNING MAYOR SCHUETZ WHEN HE HAD BEEN
PRESIDENT OF BUNDESRAT IN 1967 AND HE HOPED THIS WOULD
BE THE CASE WITH REGARD TO STOBBE. VAN WELL CONFIRMED
UNDERSTANDING REACHED IN BONN GROUP THAT FRG WILL PRE-
PARE STUDY OF THOSE EVENTS CONCERNING STOBBE'
TENURE AS BUNDESRAT PRESIDENT WHICH MIGHT CAUSE DIFFI-
CULTIES WITH SOVIETS. HE AGREED THAT COMBINATION OF
ADVANCE PLANNING AND STOBBE'S DISCRETION AND GOOD SENSE
SHOULD HELP AVOID PROBLEMS.

6. VISITS TO BERLIN. VAN WELL SPOKE APPROVINGLY OF
PROJECTED VISITS BY HIGH-RANKING FOREIGN PERSONALITIES

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TO BERLIN, CITING QUEEN ELIZABETH, THE PRESIDENT OF GABON (WHO IS ALSO PRESIDENT OF THE OAU), BRAZILIAN PRESIDENT GEISEL, AND OTHERS. HE ALSO ASSUMED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD PAY VISIT TO BERLIN WHEN HE COMES TO GERMANY NEXT SUMMER.

7. OTRAG (REF D). VAN WELL REVIEWED HIS DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR FALIN ALONG LINES PREVIOUSLY REPORTED. HE SAID THAT FRG PLANS NO FURTHER, FORMAL RESPONSE TO SOVIETS ON THIS SUBJECT, SINCE IT HAS BEEN MORE THAN ADEQUATELY COVERED IN HIS ORAL EXCHANGES WITH FALIN. I SAID WE AND UK AND FRANCE WOULD BE MAKING REPLIES TO SOVIET DEMARCHES AFTER COMPARING NOTES REGARDING LATEST SOVIET TALKS WITH SOVIETS IN CAPITALS AND COORDINATION IN BONN GROUP.

8. FISHERIES (REFS E AND F). IN DISCUSSION OF EC-CEMA FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS, VAN WELL STATED THAT FRG
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CONTINUED TO FEEL IT WAS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO SECURE ACCEPTANCE BY CEMA OF GENERAL APPLICABILITY CLAUSE WHICH WOULD COVER BERLIN. HE ALLUDED TO SUGGESTION BY POLES IN CONNECTION WITH TEXTILE AGREEMENT THAT FRANK-FALIN FORMULA COULD BE USED IN THAT AGREEMENT; THIS UNDOUBTEDLY WAS TRIAL BALLOON AT BEHEST OF SOVIETS AND, IF ACCEPTED FOR TEXTILE AGREEMENT, COULD BE EXPECTED TO APPLY ALSO FOR FISHERIES AGREEMENT. VAN WELL MADE CLEAR FRG DOES NOT FEEL THIS SUGGESTION IS USEFUL AND THAT IT WILL BE REJECTED. WHILE FRG BELIEVES GENERAL APPLICABILITY CLAUSE CAN STILL BE NEGOTIATED, VAN WELL SAID, IN EVENT FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS BREAK DOWN WITH CEMA, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES TO NEGOTIATE FISHING QUOTAS AS IN PAST AND PROCEED ON PRAGMATIC BASIS.

9. FRENCH AMBASSADOR, WITH REFERENCE TO EC-CEMA FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS, SAID HE UNDERSTOOD COMPETENT EC MINISTERS WOULD MEET IN BERLIN DURING GREEN WEEK AT END OF FEBRUARY UNDER LEADERSHIP OF FRG AGRICULTURAL MINISTER ERTL FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF NEGOTIATIONS. WHILE FRENCH DID NOT OBJECT TO SUCH DISCUSSIONS,

AMBASSADOR SAID HE HOPED TALKS IN BERLIN WOULD NOT BE BILLED AS "COUNCIL MEETING" AND SHOULD BE KEPT AS INFORMAL AS POSSIBLE. VAN WELL AND BRITISH AMBASSADOR AGREED.

10. ALLIED/SOVIET "UNDERSTANDINGS" (REF G). TOWARD END OF LUNCHEON, VAN WELL REFERRED TO RECENT SOVIET PROTEST ON EC MEETINGS IN BERLIN WHICH HAD MENTIONED "UNDERSTANDING" REACHED AMONG FOUR POWERS IN NEGOTIATING QA. HE SAID FRG HAD BEEN TOLD OF UNDERSTANDINGS CONCERNING BAN ON NPD ACTIVITIES IN BERLIN AND DEMILITARIZATION. CONFIDENTIAL

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ZATION OF BERLIN, BUT HE WAS UNAWARE OF ANY SPECIAL UNDERSTANDINGS WITH REFERENCE TO EC ACTIVITIES. VAN WELL KNEW THAT SUBJECT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN BONN GROUP AND HE THOUGHT THAT DISCUSSION HAD BEEN USEFUL. WHILE HE UNDERSTOOD THAT SOVIET INSINUATION DID NOT NEED TO BE REJECTED SPECIFICALLY, IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT FRG CANNOT BE BOUND BY AGREEMENTS OF WHICH IT HAS NOT BEEN INFORMED. I SAID I KNEW OF NO UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT WHICH THE FRG IS NOT INFORMED, AND THE BRITISH AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS SAID THE SAME. IT WAS MENTIONED THAT THE RUSSIAN TEXT OF THE SOVIET PROTEST SHOWED THAT THE SOVIETS PROBABLY DID NOT INTEND TO REFER TO "UNDERSTANDINGS" IN THE SENSE OF AGREEMENTS BUT RATHER TO THE GENERAL CONSENSUS WHICH MADE THE QA POSSIBLE. VAN WELL, WHO DID NOT APPEAR TO WANT TO PUSH THE QUESTION FURTHER, CONCLUDED BY EMPHASIZING THE EXTREME SENSITIVITY OF THE SUBJECT AND THE EXTREMELY BAD PUBLIC IMPRESSION WHICH WOULD BE CREATED IF IT WERE TO BE SUGGESTED THAT UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT BERLIN HAD BEEN REACHED TO WHICH THE FRG WAS NOT PRIVY. STOESSEL

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